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THE USE OF CYPHER IN GREEK ANTIQUITY.

(Précis of Lecture given to the Bacon Society, Nov. 2nd, 1937.)

By PROFESSOR D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, M.A., D.Litt.

THE employment of certain letters of a poem for the purpose of conveying some information, such as a signature, a chronogram, or the like, can be traced back from modern times to fairly high antiquity; such cases usually illustrate the Gospel maxim about the difficulty of serving two masters with equal fidelity. The interests of one have to be sacrificed to those of the other. And it is the manifest text which has to be sacrified to the secret message, since the latter can only be discovered by the observation of some rule or system to which the manifest text must be accommodated. Hence in such cases the words of the poem are apt to reveal the presence of cryptic matter by some violation of usage or poverty of sense. Illustrations were taken from Edgar Allan Poe's *Valentine*, in which the name of the lady to whom it is addressed, Frances Sargent Osgood, is to be collected from the first letter of the first line, the second of the second,

and so on till the end; and in the acrostic with which a verse translator of the first Book of the Iliad into Latin, of about the year 100 A.D., signed his work; the Greek prologue of seven lines is reproduced in eight, of which the first letters furnish the name ITALICUS.

That Greek dramatists introduced cryptic signatures into their works is mentioned in two passages of the historian of philosophy, Diogenes Laertius. For this purpose according to him Epicharmus (near 500 B.C.) employed *παραστιχίδια*; the meaning of this is obscure, since the fairly numerous fragments which we possess of this dramatist's works throw no light on it. Something can be elicited from another story which Diogenes tells. This is that some time about 300 B.C. one Dionysius composed a tragedy which he put out in the name of Sophocles; Heraclides Ponticus, a disciple of Aristotle, quoted it as the work of Sophocles; Dionysius then claimed it as his own, pointing to the *παραστιχίς*, "which was quite good"; Heraclides was sceptical, saying this might be accidental. The rejoinder of Dionysius was: *You shall find this too*

γέων πίθηκος οὐχ ἁλίσκεται πάγηι
ἁλίσκεται μέν, μετὰ χρόνον δ' ἁλίσκεται

An old ape is not caught with a snare;
He is caught, only he is caught after a time

and in addition to this *Heraclides is illiterate and was not ashamed.*

Now these lines are evidently accommodated to some puzzle, since the Greek proverb is about a fox, which is proverbial for cunning, whereas an ape is proverbial for mimicry. And the second line, besides being of poor quality, has the words "after a time," unsuitable in the case of an old beast who would not have much time to be caught. Further the sentiment of the lines is quite different from that contained in the words which follow. It is clearly the writer's meaning that the sentiment "Heraclides is illiterate and was not ashamed" is somehow to be found in the two iambic lines. This can only be done by *anagrammatic rearrangement of the letters*, furnish-

ing two "parasite lines," the correct interpretation of the word *parastichis*, thus:

ἀγράμματός τις Ἡοακλείδη Ποντίκ' εἶ
ὅλοι' ἐλεγχθεὶς κἀπαναισχυντῶν ἀκεῖ

Heraclides Ponticus, you are an illiterate,
plague on you, convicted; and mend matters by shamelessness.

In these lines every letter of the two in which the sentiment was to be found has been used, and nothing added or altered except the arrangement.

That this is not accidental is shown by the substitution of "ape" for "fox," and the poverty of the second line.

Since Heraclides was charged with illiteracy by the tragedian for not knowing where the signature of a tragedy was to be found, it was to be inferred that the signature was an anagram of the first two iambic lines; and a study of the surviving tragedies showed this to be the case. And this inference at once explained how it comes about that in numerous cases the opening lines of these tragedies are emended by the editors owing to faults of grammar, metre, or sense, which they display. One would suppose that however sleepy the scribe might be in the course of his work he would be wide awake at the commencement. We find an allusion to this in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes. He finds himself unable to construe the opening lines of the *Choephoroe* of Aeschylus; we are in the same case. Often when the meaning is clear, the sense leaves much to be desired.

That the anagrams went beyond the first iambic couplet was indicated by the signature of the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus, which is to be rendered

You who by shifting somehow or other the letters of my words
have inserted me SON OF EUPHORION ATHENIAN,

giving an imperfect sentence, and so implying that there is a verb to follow. This is to be found in the anagram furnished by the second iambic couplet, which turns out to be a chronogram

Do you now pick out EIGHTY from picked words
and make out the age of this tragedy.

We learn from other sources that Aeschylus was the son of Euphorion and that this tragedy was acted in the eightieth Olympiad.

Proceeding it was found that the third couplet is an expression of homage to the goddess of Athens, Athene, and that the fourth is a warning to look for no more anagrams. One of the neatest of these warnings is the anagram of the fourth couplet of the *Antigone* of Sophocles, which is to be rendered

From the letters of the fourth couplet of a tragedy
you would ascertain nothing; and they say so themselves if you
will hear.

The Attic tragedies are primarily and mainly Homeric miracle-plays, their purpose being to render the matter of the old Greek Bible, the Iliad and Odyssey of Homer, vivid; it seemed likely then that the prologues to these works contained signatures (1) because the tragedians get so many of their ideas from Homer, (2) because we expect such works to begin and end with some mention of Apollo, (3) because both these prologues have been severely criticized, that of the Iliad in antiquity, that of the Odyssey in modern times, (4) because, as has been seen, the old translator Italicus introduced his signature as an acrostic, and translators do not ordinarily introduce an artifice unless their original contains something analogous, possibly too difficult for them to reproduce exactly. Now in ancient Greek inscriptions (of which one preserved in the Ashmolean Museum was displayed in a lantern slide) the writing sometimes resembles typescript, in that the letters form vertical columns as well as horizontal lines. To this method of writing the Homeric poems there seems to be an allusion in Pindar. Since the first column of the seven-line Prologue of the Iliad furnishes neither acrostic nor anagram, and as the tragedians employ a two-line unit, it was worth while seeing whether the first two vertical columns together gave an anagrammatic signature; this was as it seemed easily deciphered, and to be read in a way which could be rendered *BY HOMER POET.*

Similar treatment of the ten-line prologue to the Odyssey, i.e., anagrammatic rearrangement of the first two vertical columns, gave the sense

Thou, Apollo, art in a way the author; O king

implying that there was something to follow; the difficulty was to discover some rule which could guide the rearrangement. This was presently elicited from the fifth pair of vertical columns giving the anagram

κατθέντ' ἔννεπες σφαγήν

Thou didst bid me having put aside slaughter

the correctness of which could not be doubted, since an early introduction to the Odyssey notices the same difference between the two poems, i.e., that the Iliad is mainly about war, whereas the Odyssey is "ethical." But these words are clearly the middle of an iambic line, whence it followed that the rearrangement must satisfy three conditions (1) the sense must be suitable; (2) the grammar must be correct, and the Greek system of grammatical terminations, etc., is very elaborate; (3) the metre must be correct. Only *one* rearrangement can satisfy all three conditions, and of course no alteration, addition, or omission of letters is permissible.

The easiest of these puzzles to solve are the two colophons, in each case four hexameters which by rearrangement furnish five complete iambic lines, the anagram-unit being four vertical columns, of sixteen letters; for the sake of symmetry the final anagram is of sixteen letters, those of fewer coming before the last.

The following tables will explain the whole process and give the results obtained.

Colophon of the Iliad.

1	2	3	4	5
ΧΕΥΑ	ΝΤΕΣ	ΔΕΤΟ	ΣΗΜΑ	ΠΑΑΙ
ΕΤΣΤ	ΝΑΓΕ	ΙΡΟΜ	ΕΝΟΙ	ΔΑΙΝ
ΔΩΜΑ	ΣΙΝΕ	ΝΠΡΙ	ΑΜΟΙ	ΟΔΙΟ
ΩΣΟΙ	ΓΑΜΦ	ΙΕΠΟ	ΝΤΑΦ	ΟΝΕΚ

6	7	8	9
NKIO	*NATT*	*APEΠ*	*EITA*
TNTE	*PIKT*	*ΔEAΔ*	*AITA*
TPEΦ	*EOΣB*	*AΣI*	*ΛHOΣ*
TOPO	*ΣIΠΠ*	*OΔA*	*MOIO*

Rearrangement of Sixteen Letter Groups.

1 *ETXA ΔT Ω MOTΣ AI Ω ΣE*
2 *Γ EΣ TIΣ AN EN Γ AMΦ EN*
3 *EPΔ EMOI TO ΠPIN ΠOI*
4 *HMA MEN AINOITO ΦAΣ*
5 *KAINON Δ AΔOI ΠOΛEI*
6 *TO NTN EPKTOP TE ΦOI*
7 *BE ΣT KPATTN IΠΠOIΣ*
8 *ΠOΔAΣ APEA Δ EA ΔI*
9 *A TOI OΛOA MH TAΣ IEI*

Colophon of the Iliad in Ordinary Greek Script.

εὐχὰ δυ' ὦ Μοῦσ' ἄι' ὥ σέ γ' ἔς τις ἂν
ἔν γ' ἀμφ' ἓν ἔρδ' Ἐι οὶ τὸ πρὶν ποίημα μὲν
αἰνοῖτο φὰς Καινὸν δ' ἄδοι πόλει τὸ νῦν.
ἔρκτορ τε Φοῖβε σὺ κράτυν' ἵπποις πόδας
Ἄρεα δ' ἔα· διὰ τοῖ' ὀλοὰ μὴ τὰς ἴει.

Translation:

Hear, O Muse, two prayers which would have been made to thee, each about one thing, by one who said: May my former poem be praised, but may the present new one please the city.
And, worker Phoebus, do thou strengthen the horses' feet; but leave the War-god alone; do not drive those horses through such horrors.

Colophon of the Odyssey.

1	2	3	4	5
ΩΣΦΑ	ΤΑΘΗ	ΝΑΙΗ	ΟΔΕΠ	ΕΙΘΕ
ΟΡΚΙ	ΑΔΑΤ	ΚΑΤΟ	ΠΙΣΘ	ΕΜΕΤ
ΠΑΛΛ	ΑΣΑΘ	ΗΝΑΙ	ΗΚΟΤ	ΡΗΔΙ
ΜΕΝΤ	ΟΡΙΕ	ΙΔΟΜ	ΕΝΗΗ	ΜΕΝΔ

6	7	8	9	10
ΤΟΧΑ	ΙΡΕΔ	ΕΘ		ΤΜΩΙ
ΑΜΦΟ	ΤΕΡΟ	ΙΣΙΝ	Ε	ΘΗΚΕ
ΟΣΑΙ	ΓΙΟ			ΧΟΙΟ
ΕΜΑΣ	ΗΔΕΚ	ΑΙΑ		ΤΔΗΝ

Rearrangement of Groups.

1 ΣΜΙΚΡ ΑΦΕΤ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ
2 ΑΘΡΟΑ Τ ΑΤΔΗΣΑΙ ΘΕΑ
3 Ι Α ΚΑΜΟΝ ΑΟΙΔΗΝ ΗΙΤ
4 ΕΘΗΚ ΟΔΤΣΗ ΕΝΙ ΟΠΠΗ
5 Τ ΕΜΙΜΝ ΕΡΕΙΔΕ Δ Η ΘΕ
6 ΟΣ ΑΧΕΑ ΟΣ ΑΜΦΙ ΤΑΜ Ο
7 ΡΟΙΤΟ Κ ΕΡΓ ΕΙ Δ ΗΔΕ
8 ΑΙ ΘΕΑΙΣΙΝ
9 Ε
10 ΙΗ ΧΤΜΟΝ ΗΔΤ Κ Ω ΘΕΟΙ

Colophon of the Odyssey in Ordinary Greek Script.

σμίκρ' ἄφετ' Ἀπόλλων' ἄθροά τ' αὐδῆσαι. θεᾷ
ἃ κάμον, ἀοιδὴν ἥ τ' ἔθηκ' Ὀδυσῆ' ἔνι,
ὅππη τ' ἔμιμν' (ἔρειδε δ' ἡ θεὸς) ἄχεα
ὅσ' ἀμφὶ τἄμ' ὄροιτό κ' ἔργ'. εἰ δ' ἥδεαι,
θεαῖσιν εἴη χὐμὸν ἡδύ κ' ὦ θεοί.

Translation.

Suffer me to address to Apollo a few unspoken words. Thou seest what I have wrought, the lay wherein I have set Odysseus, and how he, supported by the goddess, endured troubles as many as might arise about my own works. And, if thou art pleased, that which is pleasing would belong to the goddesses and to you, ye gods.*

Perhaps there is a reminiscence of the last words in Horace's *Quod spiro et placeo, si placeo, tuum est.*

As has been seen, these rearrangements must satisfy three conditions. For the Greek forms and the metre reference may be given to standard works on these subjects; there appears to be nothing about either which requires any other defence. The suitability of the sense can be estimated without any knowledge of Greek. In the first place the expectation that the colophons would contain some refernce to Phoebus Apollo is realized; in both he is addressed. The colophon of the Iliad promises two prayers; two follow and indeed in the grammatical mood which the language employs for prayers. Further, since the prayers are said to be about separate things, we expect the employment of the grammatical particles which in Greek are used for antithesis; and these are found to be employed. The chariot of the Muses is a commonplace of Greek poetry; the prayer that the next poem to be composed, should not, like the Iliad be about war was

* Hesychius preserves the word ἄθροος "unspoken," distinct from ἀθρόος "collected."

realized. Hence the meaning appears to be throughout appropriate for a colophon.

The colophon to the Odyssey is mainly a summary of its contents, which is indisputably correct; the ascription of its power to please, if any, to the gods and goddesses is, as has been seen, closely paralleled in the words of Horace, who indeed may have got the idea from this colophon. That the text of the poems has not been tampered with for the benefit of the anagrams is shown from the preceding tables.

Hence the supposition that this is all "accidental" and merely a product of the writer's misplaced ingenuity appears to be untenable. For in the whole process there is nothing arbitrary. Any one who has discovered the anagram unit, and the iambic metre, will decipher the lines in the same way.

From the colophon to the Iliad we learn—what might have been guessed—that the author before he received his commission to compose the Tale of Troy had acquired fame by some earlier work.

These results encourage one to decipher the Prefaces to the Iliad and Odyssey, where the anagram units are respectively of 14 and of 20 letters. On this occasion it will be sufficient to give the translation; for the Greek reference may be made to my work *The Homer of Aristotle*.

Doubtless the content of these Prefaces is rather alarming; for since in the Preface to the Odyssey the author states that he has composed each of the poems in twenty-four Books, and the employment of the anagram makes it certain that he *wrote* them, and indeed in the Ionic alphabet, the whole of that Homeric criticism which was started by F. A. Wolf and has led to a vast literature, may be regarded as of little value. This was indeed to be expected, since that criticism is based not on the statements of early Greek writers, like Pindar and Plato, but upon those of the Israelite Flavius Josephus, and the Roman orator Cicero! That Homer's patron must have been a prince who claimed descent from an Aeneas had been

previously inferred from a prophecy in the Iliad. That his birthplace was Ios was known—alone, it would seem, among the Greeks—to Aristotle, who is likely to have learned it from the Preface to the Iliad.

The correctness of the decipherment of the two Prefaces is indicated by the agreement in their content. In both the same etymology of Apollo's name is employed: it is from a Greek verb meaning "to expel." In the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus this god is made to expel the fiends called Erinyes from his bounds; and to this operation the Preface to the Iliad alludes. In both the god is asked to *enter* him; a prayer which Dante takes rather too literally when he says

O buon Apollo
Entra nel petto mio e spira tue
Si come quando Marsia traesti
Della vagina delle membra sue.

In both it is stated that since the powers of Strife had been duly celebrated, it was the turn of Athene, the goddess of wisdom.

In the Preface to the Iliad he gives the poem the appropriate name Achilleis, which Statius afterwards adopted for his; the two pyres which he promises to kindle are of course those of Patroclus and Hector, the work respectively, as he adds, of the Danai and "the children of Aeneas," i.e., the Trojans.

In the Preface to the Odyssey the opening clauses admit of easy illustration from classical poetry; the northern home to which the war-god is to be turned is of course Thrace, as we know from Homer himself. Being a god he must be sent away with all tokens of reverence.

If among the criticisms of these decipherments I had seen any objection deserving of consideration, it would be my duty to give it its proper value; I have however seen none to which any value would ordinarily be assigned. Further those whose quest is truth—and that I imagine to be the case with those whom I am addressing—are not concerned, like candidates for parliament and advocates, with winning votes; their sole concern is to see that their premises are correct and their inferences sound.

PREFACE TO THE ILIAD TRANSLATED.

Into the voice of Homer, native of Ios, O gracious deity, who dost "expel" from thy bounds the ungracious fiends, enter, as you entered the laments of Orpheus; for him the waters stopped, and the earth kindled strange pyres. And I, the Achilleis, a gift to Troy, shall kindle two: the Danai, I say, and thy children, O brave Aeneas, share the work between them: and if I have composed lays skilfully for the power of Strife, consider what tribute thou mayest take for the counsels of Athene.

PREFACE TO THE ODYSSEY TRANSLATED.

Thou, Apollo, art in a way the author; O king, be very gracious; "expelling" the load of care which has entered, come, enter me thyself, and bear me aloft, not unaccustomed as I am to such journeys.

Thou dost bid me deposit Slaughter there whence it once arose and Strife: to turn the War-god off towards his Northern home, with sacrifices, prayers, and torches; and then rehearse cantos calculated to clear the sleepless mind, paying thy tribute of discourse, O patroness of Laertes' son, who didst fix the same number as New Ilion chose Homer to make her own lays, the meaning being a score and a quaternion. That scion of Aeneas whom I used to soothe when he held office used, Apollo, to urge me to take another Trojan theme.

In the questions and discussion which followed, Mr. Henry Seymour said that Professor Margoliouth had satisfactorily demonstrated a very valuable historical precedent from the Ancient writers of the practice of cypher-writing amongst eminent authors of later periods. Dante, Columna, and a host of others had followed the example by inserting concealed communications, carrying some secret information, in the outer text of their works. In answer to a question whether the Professor had bestowed any attention, on the same lines, upon the confessedly obscure authorship of our National poet "Shakespeare" he replied that he had not, whereupon Mr. Seymour suggested that there were numerous indica-

tions of anagrammatic and other cyphers being employed in the *First Folio* of 1623, and cited one instance only which he regarded as apposite. This was in the last rhymed couplet of the Epilogue to *The Tempest*.

> "As you from crimes would pardon'd be,
> Let your indulgence set me free."

This was easily converted into a simple anagram, to wit:

> "Secret, yet under nom-de-plume of
> Francis, Lord Verulam. So God be wi' ye."

The valedictory phrase at the end of the anagram was well known to be the Elizabethan form of our modern "So Goodbye," of which it is a corruption. And, notwithstanding that *The Tempest* appears first in the Folio collection of plays, it is generally agreed that it was the last to be written, and indeed that this play was the author's literary testament. He also pointed out that the very *last word* of *The Tempest* was the word *free*, and that, according to Camden's description of occult meanings given to names, the name Francis meant *free*. And this last word in this play contained the neatest cryptic signature with which he had ever come across, and it appeared in the right place where it should as a Signature. For, if you counted the numeral equivalents of these four letters in their ordinary sequence in the Elizabethan alphabet of 24 letters (a method of concealment by Elizabethan authors pointed out by John Swan, in 1642) you would find they total 33, which is the equivalent of *Bacon*; whereas, when counted in the only other way, by the reverse sequence (z=1, y=2, etc.) the total came to 67, which is the equivalent of *Francis*. The net result was that the simple word *free* not only stood for *Bacon*, but *Francis* as well, which made the solution complete.

F	R	E	E		F	R	E	E	
6	17	5	5	=33=Bacon	19	8	20	20	=67=Francis

"EVOLUTIONARY BIOGRAPHY."

By H. KENDRA BAKER.

IT is doubtful if anyone has done more to entrench the Stratford Legend and to make it almost an article of faith than Sir Sidney Lee.

His book, "A Life of William Shakespeare," has had an enormous influence on the public, and the fact that he was the author of the biography of Shakespeare in the D.N.B. and held a unique position as a great literary critic, makes it exceedingly difficult for anyone of lesser reputation to question or criticise his statements with any chance of being listened to.

But times have changed considerably since, in 1898, he produced his first edition of the "Life." The Stratford legend, with the growth of education and enlightened criticism, shows definite signs of disintegration; the Baconian arguments have, literally, put to silence on many occasions the supporters of what was once the universally accepted view, but has now become rather a tottering tradition.

"Higher criticism" is not confined to biblical matters, and if traditions with unbroken records of 2,500 years and upwards can be attacked, it is not surprising that those with but 300 or less should not be immune.

In the spirit of the boy who whistles to keep up his courage, Sidney Lee may write:—

"The scantiness of contemporary records of Shakespeare's career has been much exaggerated. An investigation extending over two centuries has brought together *a mass of detail* which far exceeds that accessible in the case of any other contemporary professional writer."

But, however these comfortable words may have kept up the courage of himself and his followers, it is open to anyone who cares to take the trouble, to satisfy himself

that the direct reverse is the fact; no professional writer, contemporary or otherwise, has ever left *less* records.

It has been well, and truly, said that all we really *know* of the Stratford man could be written on a half-sheet of note paper; and yet, to our amazement, we see this "Life" by Sidney Lee running into 720 pages!

"What can it be all about?" we ask. Well, it is but fair to say that a very large part of it consists of purely collateral and subsidiary matters; an immense amount of most valuable literary and textual criticism of the Works, reflecting a wide and intimate knowledge of the literature of the period, and of the origins and construction of the Plays. Here we have the author at his best—the enlightened literary critic.

But as a biographer he leaves much to be desired. It is perfectly obvious that he embarks upon his task with an unquestioning and unwavering faith in the identity of the Stratford man with the Author of this the greatest literature of all time; a faith capable, as Sir George Greenwood says, of removing mountains by swallowing them! Apparently, he either does not see, or does not allow himself to see, the "mountainous" anomalies that present themselves at every turn between this "untutored rustic" (as Carlyle described him) and the cultured scholar and genius which the true Author of the Works must necessarily have been.

That this contrast must have struck him is shown by what he writes concerning the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy:—

"The apparent contrast between the homeliness of Shakespeare's Stratford career and the breadth of observation and knowledge displayed in his literary work has evoked the fantastic theory that Shakespeare was not the author of the literature that passes under his name, and perverse attempts have been made to assign his works to his great contemporary Francis Bacon, the prose-writer, philosopher, and lawyer."

After dealing with the various phases of "this unintelligible theory" he concludes:

"The abundance of the contemporary evidence attest-

ing Shakespeare's responsibility for the works published under his name gives the Baconian theory no rational right to a hearing . . . Defective knowledge and illogical or casuistical argument alone render any other conclusion possible."

In view, however, of the fact that, despite this "only possible conclusion"; despite also the "abundant contemporary evidence" for the tradition, there is a large, and ever-increasing, volume of opinion that rejects the Stratfordian tradition, one cannot but wonder whether the "defective knowledge," the "illogical and casuistical argument" is all on one side!

A perusal of the biographical matter in Lee's book should cause any open-minded enquirer to entertain grave doubts as to this! For example, what are we to think of the "logicality" of the argument which purports to refute the charge of "ignorance" in the traditional author by showing that "Shakespeare in his writings openly acknowledged his acquaintance with the Latin and French languages, indeed, with many Latin poets of the school curriculum" (1898 ed. p. 15.) ?

Could any argument be more "illogical" or "casuistical?" It begs the whole question in dispute, and, so far from satisfying anybody that this "untutored rustic" actually possessed the requisite knowledge, it does but strengthen one's doubts of the identity of such a person with the true author.

Again, we are as "logically" informed that "Shakespeare's early literary work *proves* that while in the country he eagerly studied birds, flowers, and trees, and gained a detailed knowledge of horses and dogs. All his kinsfolk were farmers, and with them he doubtless as a youth practised many field sports." (*ib.*: p. 26).

So far as Shaxper is concerned, it proves, of course, nothing of the kind: what it does prove is the true author's knowledge, and nothing else, just as in the former case.

We have a further specimen of this "logical" method on p. 32, wherein we are informed that "In view of his general quickness of apprehension, Shakespeare's accurate use of legal terms . . may be attributable in part to his

observation of the many legal processes in which his father was involved, and in part to early intercourse with members of the Inns of Court."

We have here three gratuitous assumptions:

1. his "general quickness of apprehension," of which not a tittle of evidence exists;
2. his "observation" of his father's legal processes for which again there is not a scintilla of evidence, and
3. his "intercourse" with members of the Inns of Court, with about as much, or as little, foundation.

Had Sir Sidney Lee been a lawyer, he certainly could not have been guilty of such an absurd observation. The abstruse legal knowledge found throughout the plays is not gained by any amount of "general quickness of apprehension," but by years of study and experience. As well expect a layman, be his "g.q. of a." ever so remarkable, to perform a surgical operation after reading Sir Bernard Spilsbury's evidence in criminal enquiries!

Utterly lacking in evidential value though these—and many similar statements—are, they are, nevertheless, quoted continually in support of the "universal knowledge" of the traditional author, and it is *we*—these poor "illogical and casuistical" Baconians—who are held up to ridicule for not accepting them as "evidence" of his "omniscience"!

But it is not so much with the faulty conclusions and deductions disclosed in this "Life" that we are here concerned, but rather with a method which may be described as "evolutionary biography," and which apparently has been made use of by way of "corroborative detail intended to give artistic verisimilitude to an otherwise bald and unconvincing narrative!"

This method, so favoured by Pooh-Bah of "*Mikado*" fame, consists for the most part in the judicious use, abuse, and disuse of the word "doubtless!"

Anyone who has even dipped into this "Life" cannot fail to have been struck by the author's addiction to this word. We find it in a quotation given above; indeed a great part of the biography is based on this useful adverb! For the present writer it has always had a peculiar fascina-

tion, akin to "that blessed word, Mesopotamia!" At length he was irresistibly drawn to make a closer study of its use, and the result has been both instructive and entertaining. It was obtained by collating the first edition of the "Life" (1898) with that of 1915 and comparing the passages in which this word "doubtless" occurs in the original with the corresponding passages in the later edition.

It is interesting to observe that the word occurs sixty-one times in the text (as distinguished from the Appendix) of the 1898 edition (hereinafter referred to as "A").

It is not proposed to detail all the assertions and the assumptions based upon this word; it would occupy far too much space and is a study of itself. Nor is it proposed to deal with all the many synonyms of the word, such as "there is little doubt," "in all probability," "it is practically certain," and the like. If all such were bracketed with "doubtless" and treated accordingly, our catalogue of assumptions would assume phenomenal proportions.

Interesting and instructive though they be, as indicating the tendency to raise pure *conjecture* to the level of *probability*, they must be studied by the individual reader to enable him adequately to estimate the biographical value of such assertions.

In many cases the word "doubtless," is reproduced in the corresponding passages in B. With these we shall not concern ourselves, but in others it has been subjected to an evolutionary process designed to raise the earlier level of *probability* to that of *certainty*, or, at any rate, to a much higher degree of credibility. It is with these that we propose more particularly to deal.

For example, on p. 11 of A we find the following passage referring to John S. (father of the "miracle").

"In 1575 he bought two houses in Stratford, one of them *doubtless* the alleged birthplace in Henley Street."

Here we have the beginnings of this evolutionary process—conjecture raised to probability—by the use of the handy little adverb "doubtless."

But when we turn to the corresponding passage in B

we realise the potentialities not only of its *use* but of its *disuse*, for there we read:

"One of them the *traditional* birthplace in Henley Street."

"Doubtless" has disappeared, and "the alleged" has developed into "the traditional," though not a tittle of fresh evidence had come to light in the interval. Indeed, there was no evidence at any time—nothing but pure conjecture. Thus we get this legendary birthplace foisted on a credulous public as an established tradition, and we are "illogical and casuistical" if we question its genuineness. One wonders what sort of reception such "evidence" would be accorded in a Court of law!

Again on p. 37 A we are told that: "The Rose Theatre was *doubtless* the earliest scene of S's pronounced successes, alike as actor and dramatist."

Turning to p. 60 B, we read:

"The Rose Theatre *was* the first scene" &c. Exit "doubtless." Perish all doubts! And so another "fact" is added to "the abundant evidence" already existing!

Further specimens of the method in action are the following:

On p. 304 A we read, "The First Folio *was doubtless* printed in Jaggard's printing office near St. Dunstan's Church."

But on p. 556 B all uncertainty is removed by the confident assertion, "The First Folio *was* printed at the press in the Barbican which Jaggard had acquired . . ."

On p. 306 A, *re* the Prefatory matter to the First Folio, is the following passage:

"In both addresses the two actors made pretension to a larger responsibility for the enterprise than they really incurred, but their motives were *doubtless* irreproachable."

While on p. 558 B, we find, ". . . but their motives in solely identifying themselves with the venture *were* beyond reproach."

We can but attribute this exclusive piece of information to psychical contact with Heminge and Condell, for we know of no other source from which it could have been obtained!

Now, all the foregoing are instances of the evolutionary method in its highest form—"the discarded doubtless," the conversion of conjecture into certainty—but there are others in which the method is seen in various transitional stages; the following are examples.

On p. 36 A we are told that the Company of which S. had become a member was "*doubtless* performing at The Theatre" (in Shoreditch).

On p. 57 B we are carried a little further in the evolutionary scheme:

" 'The Theatre', the playhouse in Shoreditch where S. is *credibly reported* to have gained his first experience of the stage."

We are not favoured with particulars of these "credible reports," neither are they known.

And so too, with the author of "an early version of *Hamlet*,"

p. 221 A. "*doubtless* Thomas Kyd."

p. 357 B. "*may be safely identified* with T.K."

Again, referring to Belleforest's "Hystorie of Hamblet" which appeared in 1608:

p. 222 A. "S. *doubtless* read it in French."

p. 355 B. "the French collection of tales *was* familiar to S."

How did he find that out between 1898 and 1915? Was it vouchsafed unto him in a vision? There is no evidence that Shaksper knew any French whatever; nothing but pure assumption.

Writing, too, of the "miracle's" classical accomplishments, we find on p. 75 A his addiction to *Ovid* asserted on no surer ground than that "*Venus and Adonis*" reflects an intimate acquaintance with that Poet's works. It is stated: "But the theme was *doubtless* first suggested to S. by a contemporary effort, Lodge's '*Scillaes Metamorphosis*.' . . . There is *little doubt* that S. drew from Lodge some of his inspiration."

On p. 143 B, we read, "S made its acquaintance in the brief version which figures in a work by Ovid . . the *Metamorphoses*." The "little doubt" has shared the fate of the "handy adverb."

On p. 65 A we read that owing to the prevalence of the plague the London theatres were closed "and S. *doubtless* travelled with his company in the country."

Turning to p. 128 B we find "the players travelled in the country . . there is *small reason to question* that S. accompanied his colleagues on their long tour." But, none the less, there is no evidence of the fact.

From among numerous instances of the evolutionary process in action, by the use of expressions other than the "handy adverb," we cull the following:

On p. 17 A we read: "It is *possible* that S. went thither (Kenilworth) with his father to witness some of the open-air festivities."

At p. 25 B this develops into, "it is *reasonable to assume* that some of the spectators were from Stratford, and that they included the elder S. and his son."

Possibility converted into probability. A later edition might have informed us that "S. and his son were both present."

Here is another specimen of "augmented probability." p. 33 A "There is *every indication* that S. was speedily offered employment inside the playhouse," p. 46 B "*No doubt is permissible* that S. was offered—" &c.

Again p. 34 A "His intellectual capacity . . was *probably* soon recognised and thenceforth his promotion was assured."

Pure conjecture raised to probability; now observe its further promotion to certainty! p. 46 B "*Evidence abounds* to show that his intellectual capacity . . were soon recognised and that his promotion to more dignified employment was rapid."

Where did this mysterious "evidence" come from? Beyond his statement, none is known!

Or again:

p. 36 A "It is *fair to infer* that this was the Company that S. originally joined and adhered to through life."

It may be! But is it equally fair to assert, on p. 54 B. "*There is little doubt* that at an early period S. joined this Eminent Company of actors . . ."?

Referring to the line "A Tyger's heart wrapt in a Player's hide" he says:—

p. 58 A "The tirade was *probably* inspired by an established author's resentment at the energy of a young actor—the theatre's factotum—in revising the dramatic work of his seniors."

But when we refer to B. p 116 we find probability again converted into certainty:—"The tirade *is* an explosion of resentment on the part of a disappointed senior dramatist."

As, also, at p. 63 A. "Marlowe and he *apparently working* in partnership," sheds its uncertainty in B and becomes (p. 122) "Marlowe and he *working* in partnership."

So, too, all lingering doubts are dispelled as regards the origins of *"Twelfth Night"* from the two 16th century Italian plays *"Gl' Inganni"* and *"Gl' Ingannati."*

At p. 210 A, he says, "It is *possible* that S. had recourse to the last," but when we turn up the corresponding passage in B (p. 331) we are reassured to learn that "There is *no room for doubt* that . . ."

In fact Stratfordian biography seems to resemble port-wine; you only have to keep it long enough for it to develop quality!

It is but fair to say, however, that in some cases it seems to have developed symptoms of "bottle-sickness"! Occasionally we detect in his later edition indications that things are not quite as "doubtless" as he imagined. For example:

On p. 37 A, speaking of the Globe Theatre, he says, "*doubtless* S. described it (rather than The Curtain) as 'this wooden O' in H.v.1.13," while on p. 62 B we get "S. *would seem* to have written of the theatre as 'this Cockpit; this wooden O'."

Signs of caution, too, are detected in the following: p. 40 A. "Some of the references to travel in the Sonnets were *doubtless* reminiscences of early acting tours."

This in B p. 82, becomes: "have been *reasonably interpreted* as. . ."

Or here:

p. 42 A. "That S. joined any of these expeditions" (to

foreign countries) "is *highly improbable* . . . his name appears in no extant list."

p. 85 B. "is *improbable*." Must not be too sure; was he not a "genius"!

And so too, on p. 15 A speaking of the "Signature" on the Aldine edition of Ovid's "*Metamorphoses*" (1502) "which experts have declared—*not quite conclusively*—to be a genuine autograph of the poet," he states that "the influence of Ovid, especially the '*Metamorphoses*' was apparent throughout his earliest literary work."

This "influence of Ovid" on an apparently unlettered rustic is, by the way, somewhat naively accounted for in these words:

"A boy with Shakespeare's exceptional alertness of intellect," (of which no evidence exists) "during whose schooldays a training in Latin classics lay within reach could hardly lack in future years all means of access to the literature of France and Italy."

Later on, at p. 253 A, he states with the utmost confidence that "Golding's rendering of Ovid *had been* one of S.'s best loved books in youth."

Biography made easy! How simple it all is—so long as no evidence is expected! But with years (possibly aided by Baconian "illogicalities") some doubts seem to have arisen in his mind as to this devotion to Ovid on the part of his hero; for, on p. 21 B, we find that this statement as to the "Signature" ("not quite conclusively" declared by experts to be genuine) has been modified so as to read, "on grounds that deserve attention"! They certainly do—and have received it—with disastrous results as regards their genuineness!

Dawning doubts, too, seem to be reflected in what he writes concerning the passage "Lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds." (*Edward III*, ii, 1) reproduced in the Sonnets (xciv, l.14).

On p. 72 A we find, "The line in the play was *doubtless* borrowed from a MS copy of the Sonnets," while the corresponding passage on p. 140 B reads—"Whether the dramatist borrowed from a MS copy of the Sonnets, or the

Sonnetteer borrowed from the drama are questions which are easier to ask than to answer."

We wish there had been more of this spirit of reserve in some of his assertions.

But, quite apart from the instances we have quoted of the evolutionary process and even of "dawning doubts," the following extracts will show how cautious one should be in accepting statements appearing in any particular edition of this monumental—not to say imaginative—work; for variations and modifications, to say nothing of errors, abound.

The following is a good instance of the erroneous. On p. 43 A he says: "But the fact that he represents Valentine in the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, as travelling from Verona to Milan by sea, and Prospero in *The Tempest* as embarking on a ship at the gates of Milan renders it almost impossible that he could have gathered his knowledge of Northern Italy from personal observation. He *doubtless* owed all to the verbal reports of travelled friends or to books, the contents of which he had a rare power of assimilating and vitalising."

While admiring this "rare power of assimilating" so intuitively discovered in the "untutored rustic," one feels constrained to point out that it could only have been by "personal observation" that this knowledge of Northern Italy could have been acquired by the true author, seeing that, as we now know, Upper Italy was in the 16th century liberally intersected with water ways affording the customary means of transit.

Thus, as Lee himself admits (p. 42 A) that "it is, in fact, unlikely that S. ever set foot on the continent of Europe in either a private or professional capacity," his protégé would seem to be ruled-out on his own showing, quite apart from the numberless instances in the plays, of an intimate knowledge of the country that could only be gained by actual observation.

Then, again, there are inconsistencies. For example, p. 223 A. referring to the First Quarto of Hamlet.

"*In all probability* it was a piratical and carelessly transcribed copy of S.'s first draft of the play."

But at P. 362 B, he says:—

"*There is little doubt* that it was prepared from shorthand notes taken from the actors' lips during an early performance at the theatre."

Or this:—

p. 323 A. "The Folio text (Hamlet) *probably* came nearest to the original MS, but it, too, followed an acting copy which had been abbreviated somewhat *less* drastically than the 2nd Q. and in a different fashion."

p. 365 B. "The Folio text *clearly* followed an acting copy which had been abbreviated somewhat *more* drastically than—"

Another instance:—

p. 237 A (Measure for Measure). "There is *every* likelihood that S. also knew Cinthio's play, which, unlike his romance, was untranslated." (Promus and Cassandra).

p. 392 B. "There is a *bare* likelihood that S. also knew Cinthio's Italian play which was untranslated."

And yet another:—

p. 264 A. "*It is probable* that in 1611 he disposed of his shares in the Globe and Blackfrairs theatres. He owned none at the date of his death."

P. 451 B. "There is *little doubt* that he retained his shares in both the Globe and Blackfriars theatres till his death."

(So what *is* one to believe?)

Again with reference to the source of the First Folio. P. 307 A. informs us that, "There is *no doubt* that the *whole* volume was printed from the acting versions—," while at p. 560 B, we find that "*most* of the pieces were printed from hitherto unprinted copies which had been made for theatrical uses."

Regarding the problem of whether Wm. Davenant was "son" or "godson" to "our poet," we read on p. 265 A that "it is *safer* to adopt the less compromising version which makes S. the godfather of the boy William instead of his father."

By 1915, this has developed into, (p. 452 B) "there is *little doubt* that G. was his godfather."

As a last instance of "corroborative detail"—of which confirmation has yet to be discovered—we quote his statement on p. 266 A:—

"On Sept. 9, 1608, the poet's mother was buried in the parish Church." (Place of death not stated, presumably because not known.) But by 1915 intuition has, apparently, come to his aid, and we are confidently informed at p. 462 B that "early in September, 1608, his mother (Mary Arden) died . . . *in the Birthplace at Henley Street* . . she was buried in the Churchyard on Sept. 9."

Now, it will be readily admitted, that the foregoing particulars, in no way comprehensive, but rather samples from bulk, must inevitably give rise to serious doubts as to the reliability of the work from which they are taken, more particularly as regards its biographical features.

Seeing that this book is generally regarded as, more or less, the standard work on the Stratfordian case, and is constantly quoted as such, does it not show how seriously the public has been misled in many most important particulars, and how very needful it is that the whole authorship question should be reconsidered *ab initio*?

It has long since ceased to be a purely literary question for experts only; it is one of evidence and common-sense, of which the intelligent man-in-the-street is as capable of estimating the value as so-called "literary critics."

The function of the latter—and a very important and valuable function it is—is to dissect and analyse the works themselves and lay bare their sources, origins, construction, and production. In this they have been remarkably successful; but, so far from establishing the identity of the traditional author with the intellectual prodigy that the true author must have been, their efforts have but emphasised the irreconcilability of such a proposition. This fact should be realised by the public; and then, perhaps, they would demand evidence for mere assertion, and proved facts for assumptions.

One cannot help contrasting in this connection, the restrained language of so orthodox a Stratfordian as E. K. Chambers with Lee's imaginative biographical assertions.

In his "William Shakespeare, A Study, etc.," (Vol. i. p. 16) he writes:—

"Of William Shakespeare's own early days there is but little on record; and it is no part of my object to compete with those gifted writers who have drawn upon their acquaintance with Stratford and with the plays for the material of an imaginative reconstruction."

One feels one would rather be "illogical" with Chambers than "logical" with Lee!

THE "POET'S CORNER" IN STRATFORD.

The production of "Poet's Corner" at the Stratford Memorial Theatre on November 29th, 1937, was an event of the season. The comedy was written by Mrs. Muriel Grant, of Warwick. It was played by Roy Limbert's Malvern Company to a good house, which, strange to say, thoroughly enjoyed the joke, as well as the topical allusions to certain notabilities in the town. Ostensibly a story about the Ruritanian capital of Villamar, it reveals the terror of the local big-wigs, on the eve of the tercentenary celebrations of the birth of Ruritania's immortal bard, at the threat of a revelation that he never wrote the Plays at all. The London *Dail Mail* describes it as "an elaborate leg-pull," *The Birmingham Mail*: "What 'Poet's Corner' really is, without a doubt, is a metaphoric (and almost literal) thumbing of the nose at Stratford traditions, the Shakespeare cult, and the people who labour or have laboured to maintain world interest in the town."

Something like an uproar takes place as the various vendors of local relics, antique shop dealers, hotel keepers, and ginger-beer sellers, appeal to the Mayor of the town in their alarm, which set the audience in roars of laughter; but the Mayor and Corporation re-assured the alarmists to some extent by promising to keep the secret "at any rate until after the 23rd."

The *Birmingham Gazette* understands that the play is to be produced also in London.

BACON'S BONDS.

By C. L'Estrange Ewen.

IT will have been gathered from the paper *Francis Bacon and the Money-Lenders* (Baconiana, January, 1934) that during the years 1590-1604 the borrower frequently bound himself and his heirs to repay a loan on a specific day, by sealing and delivering a writing obligatory in a penal sum conditioned for voidance upon performance. A deed of this nature provided better security than an unsealed acknowledgement, since the penal sums were usually twice the amount of the debt, and, in the case of the obligor dying, settlement had priority over simple contract debts. Details of such of these penal bonds as were forfeited by non-performance are now chiefly to be obtained from the records of debt actions in the Courts of Common Pleas (C.P.40) and King's Bench (K.B.27), the rolls of the pleadings from early date being extant.

Writings obligatory, of course, were also sealed for purposes other than settlement of debts, and perhaps the most discussed and photographed example of that type is the joint and several bond delivered in 1582 by Fulk Sandells and John Rychardson to indemnify grantors of the licence of the marriage of "William Shagspere and Anne Hathwey."

In distinction to the conditional or "double bond" was the single "bond," that is, according to one usage, a bill (English) or obligation (Latin) without condition and consideration. But these two terms seem to have been also applied in a different sense, a "single bond" being that sealed by one obligor only, a "double bond" by two or more, usually jointly and severally. In *The Merchant of Venice* Shylock says to Antonio: "Go with me to a notary, seal me there your single bond." That instrument certainly had a condition, if not a valid one, and so was a "double bond," although single in the sense of having but one obligor.

In order to become fully conversant with the new material relating to the Bacons' money transactions, which it is proposed to notice, it is necessary, owing to the conflicting use of the technical and popular terms, to examine briefly the various kinds of "bonds of record."

Of similar nature to the penal bond described above, but a yet sounder form of security was the "recognizance" acknowledged in Chancery, or before a justice of either Bench, and afterwards enrolled, since such an obligation of record is equivalent to a judgment, and in the case of non-appearance by the recognizor in court to show cause why the debt should not be levied upon his goods and chattels, execution followed. In this manner Francis Bacon bound himself to secure repayment of his loan from Thomas Offley, the leather-seller, in 1590, the earliest known example of his personal experience of these obligatory instruments. Such recognizances were in wide use, and enrolments are to be found in profusion on the Close Rolls (C54), sometimes, as in the above case, with the cognizee's signature acknowledging satisfaction.

In the days of Francis Bacon, more drastic than the recognizance acknowledged in Chancery was a Statute Merchant or Statute Staple (bonds so called from being in a form expressly provided in certain statutes), they being specially designed for the better security of merchants, and to provide them with a speedy means for the recovery of debts. In London the statute merchant was acknowledged before the Lord Mayor and one of the clerks of the Statutes Merchant, the statute staple before the Mayor and a Constable of the Staple, and both were enrolled.

The form of these two recognizances is almost identical, but the one is internally specifically styled *scriptum statuto mercatorio*, and mentions as penalty that provided in statutes passed at Acton Burnell and Westminster (11 Edw. 1 and 13 Edw. 1). The other cites the penalty enacted by the Statute of the Staple (27 Edw. III, st. ii, c.9). Reference to the acts shows that the penalties in each case were practically similar in so far that, if the debt were not paid, the acting officer was to cause the debtor to be imprisoned until he gave satisfaction. If he did not settle

or if the sheriff returned a *non est inventus*, writs issued either to deliver to the creditor lands and goods of the debtor by a reasonable extent (i.e., valuation) or to sell them.*

Although the statute staple following the statute merchant was confined to certain persons and places, its benefits became extended beyond its primary design by the fiction of surmising a debt to have been contracted in the Staple. These bonds of record being widely adopted by others than merchants led to the modified statute of 23 Hen. VIII, c. 6 sanctioning their use by persons of all descriptions, and such instruments become known as "recognizances in the nature of a statute staple." The obligations thus regularised were acknowledged before one of the Chief Justices, or out of term before the Mayor of the Staple at Westminster and the Recorder of the City of London. Such a recognizance follows the wording prescribed for the statute staple, the penalty being of the like uncomfortable nature, and the defaulting debtor liable to instant imprisonment.

We find among the givers of these "statutes staple improper" as William West calls them (*Symboleography*, 1598) Francis Bacon from 1591 and Anthony Bacon from 1593. Possibly the author of *Hamlet* had such instruments in mind when he wrote: "His statutes, his recognizances, his fines, his double vouchers" (v, 1). That this form of security came into common use we may gather from Middleton (*The Family of Love*, 1608, i, 3): "There is not one gentlemen amongst twenty but his land be engaged in twenty statute staples."

With regard to extant records in the Public Record Office, from the Rolls Chapel is a collection of recognizances of statute staple commencing as early as 1 Hen. VIII (C152, 55-66) and so including both proper and "improper" obligations. In the same depository is a book said to be of forfeited recognizances of statute staple for the year 21 Hen. VIII (The Treasury of the Receipt of the

* Giles Jacob notices the distinction that action of debt lies upon a recognizance and upon a statute merchant, it being in the nature of a bond or obligation, but not upon a statute staple.

Exchequer, E36, 147). The numbers of noblemen, knights and gentlemen named therein support the view that the statute staple was then much misused, and the necessity for the act of Hen. VIII.

Formerly belonging to the Office of the Clerk of Recognizances, but which strayed far out of place into the Lord Chamberlain's department, is a series of what the P.R.O. has termed "recognizances on statutes merchant for the payment of debts," but which are clearly "recognizances in the nature of a statute staple" since many are made by men of rank, and they are acknowledged before a Chief Justice; moreover not all are to secure debts. For this series there are Recognizance Rolls (L.C.4, 1-183) and Entry Books of Recognizances (L.C.4, 187-206), and the latter approximately duplicate the rolls (commencing 24 Hen. VIII).

It will be seen that great possibility of confusion in terms exists. What Middleton, the dramatist, called "statute staples," the lawyer Jacob termed "recognizances," and the P.R.O. "statutes merchant," while they were often "staple bonds" or merely "statutes" as in *Hamlet*. While the exact nature of a recognizance may be determined by examination of the original, where one has nothing but the abbreviated book entries its precise character can often only be guessed at, and accuracy cannot always be assured. Moreover the book entries give no hint as to the nature of the defeasance, or conditions for voidance attached, underwritten, or endorsed.

For various proceedings in Chancery (i.e., the common law side) following upon forfeited recognizances in the nature of a statute staple there is a collection from the Rolls Chapel, commencing temp. Eliz. (C43, 5-14), and one from the Petty Bag Office, but few of material dates (C206, 1). Certificates, writs, and extents from 15 Eliz. are C152, 29-54, another lot from Jas. I being C228, 1-35. All these records have been examined, but it is mainly from the "Lord Chamberlain's rolls" and entries of recognizances in the nature of a statute staple that further evidence of the difficulties of the Bacon brothers is now obtained.

The earliest entry, dated 26 Nov., 34 Eliz. (1591) is to the effect that Francis Bacon of Grays Inn, armiger, before Sir Christopher Wray, Kt., acknowledged himself to owe to Richard Smyth, M.D., 500 *l.*, and undertook to pay the same by Christmas Day following (L.C.4, 192, 122b). The conditions for voidance are not given in entry books of recognizances, so we cannot learn to what extent the debtor had been obliged.

W. H. Dixon (*Personal History*, 47) gives a letter dated 19 Sept. 1593 from Francis Bacon to "Good Mr. Spencer" asking him, in lieu of an old bond of himself and his brother to cause a new one to be made for half a year more, which he would sign and seal, thus becoming the only debtor. It is unlikely that early payment was expected, and we do not know the amount of the accommodation, but Alderman Spenser is in a list of creditors satisfied by 1609 (*Transportata ex comentario vetere*: Spedding, xi, 89). At the same time Anthony must also have been negotiating with Spencer on his own account, for, as appears from an entry of recognizance in the nature of a statute staple, on 28 Nov., 36 Eliz. (1593) Anthony Bacon of "Gorram Burye," armiger, before Sir John Popham, Kt., bound himself to pay John Spencer, citizen and alderman of London, 6,000 *l.* on Christmas Day following (L.C.4, 192, 278b).

This Mr. Spencer was a wealthy merchant, shortly afterwards to be Lord Mayor, and not the money-lending miser that Dixon makes him. There is good reason to suppose that the sealing of the "statute" had no connection with a loan, but rather with the disposal of the Barley Estate, for which licence to alienate had been purchased on 2 Sept. 1593. Two days later the conveyance was executed, the consideration being 3,380 *l.* One of the recent acquisitions by the British Museum is a book comprising the survey of the estate carried out by John Norden in October and November 1563 for Sir John Spencer, Kt. (Add. MS 42508).

It has been shown (*Jan. 1934, p. 244) that Francis

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* Baconiana.

Bacon, on 13 Jan. 1596-7 borrowed 240 *l.* from Baptist Hicks, citizen and mercer of London, and it now appears that seven weeks earlier, Anthony, before Sir Edmund Anderson, Kt., by a recognizance in the nature of a statute staple had bound himself to pay the same gentleman, 800 *l.* on Christmas Day following (L.C.4, 193, 171b). Sir Baptist is also in the list of settled debtors, 1609. Afterwards Viscoun Campden, Stow records that he becamet known for his "noble and charitable deeds."

Recognizances were used to secure performance of other undertakings besides the repayment of loans, and Francis Bacon's next appearance is probably as a trustee. On 18 Feb. 1596-7 William Cooke of St. Martin's in the Fields, armiger, before Sir Edmund Anderson, Kt., acknowledged himself to owe to Sir Henry Grey, Kt., Sir Henry Kyllygrewe, Kt., Francis Bacon, armiger, and Francis Ram, gentleman, 700 *l.* The obligation was discharged 2 Jas. (L.C.4, 193, 210). That it had been sealed in connection with some family business seems probable, Bacon being a kinsman of Cookes, Greys, and Kyllygrews, and Francis Ram, the elder, gent., was a tenant of Sir Anthony Cooke of Gwydihall in Hornchurch, as appears by inquisition, 18 July, 39 Eliz. (C152, 38).

In 1598 both Anthony and Francis were much pressed, the latter in September experiencing two days in a sponging house. His creditor in this case, Giles Simpson, although the royal goldsmith, was not a rich man, or able to finance his transactions unaided, and from these entries we see that he used himself to borrow thousands of pounds at a time on the security of recognizances in the nature of a statute staple, and on occasion forfeited his bond. At this time Anthony seems to have been unable to help his brother, for not only was he alienating his lands, but on 25 Nov. 41 Eliz. (1598) before Sir John Popham, Kt., he bound himself to pay Edmund Bressye, citizen and haberdasher of London, 2,500 *l.* on 30 Nov. following (L.C.4, 194, 77).

In the list of creditors satisfied by 1609 appears Sir Thomas Challenor (father of the regicide of that name). On 17 May 1602 Francis Bacon of Grays Inn, armiger,

before Sir Edmund Anderson, Kt., had bound himself to pay Sir Thomas Challoner, Kt. of Steeple Claydon, Bucks., 700 *l.*, a week later. The recognizance becoming "date-broke" it was certified in Chancery, 6 June 1603 (L.C.4, 195, 97).

In the earlier paper (Jan. 1934, p. 253) it was stated that subsequent to Bacon's knighthood only one more debt action had been found. Additionally it now appears that in Trinity term, 2 Jas. (1604) in the King's Bench, Sir John Croftes, Kt., complained of Sir Francis Bacon, Kt. touching a debt of 500 *l.* acknowledged by writing obligatory and conditioned for payment of 300 *l.* Sir Francis pleaded settlement, but upon a jury being called he could not deny the action and Sir John "recovered" the amount claimed together with 4 *l.* damages. Afterwards Defendant sued out a writ of error, but the remainder of the record has been misplaced and lost (K.B. 27, 1385, m. 172d). Sir John is named in 1609 as having been partly satisfied. The bond in this case was of the type first above described.

Early in May 1606 Sir Francis Bacon married Alice Barnham, a step-daughter of Sir John Packington of Aylesbury, Bucks., and it may be surmised therefore that the next entry had nothing to do with debt, but rather with making the jointure, said by Dixon to be of 500 *l.* per annum.

On 3 June, 4 Jas. (1606) Sir Francis Bacon of Gorambury, Kt., and Sir William Cooke of London, Kt., before Sir John Popham, Kt., acknowledged themselves to owe to Sir John Packington, Kt. of Aylesbury, Bucks., Sir Thomas Foster, Kt., serjeant-at-law, and Sir John Garrard, Kt., citizen and alderman of London, 4,000 *l.* to be paid on 24 June following (L.C.4. 196, f.80).

By the end of 1609 Sir Francis Bacon although yet owing several thousand pounds, had no difficulty in satisfying his creditors, but one further entry somewhat unexpectedly appears. On 18 July, 8 Jas. (1610) Sir Francis Bacon, Kt., and Sir William Cooke of Hynam, Glouc., before Sir Stephen Soame, Kt., mayor, etc. and Sir Henry Mountagu, Kt., Recorder, etc., acknowledged themselves

to owe to John Harris, citizen and goldsmith of London, 2,000 *l.* to be paid on 25 July following. Two contradictory statements next appear. This recognizance in the nature of a statute staple was certified in Chancery on 3 May, 19 Jas. (1621), and it was cancelled on 24 March, 9 Jas. (1610-11) (L.C.4, 197, 103). How it came to be certified in default ten years after it had been satisfied is not patent, and must be left as a problem.

"TIMON OF ATHENS" AND BACON.

It has been demonstarted in great detail that the tragedy of Bacon's fall provoked the morbid outburst we find in the character of Timon, and that Bacon's faithful steward, Sir Thomas Meautys, was the original of Timon's steward, Flavius. To the evidence already collected and published I would like to add the following peculiar anachronism in language. This occurs in Act IV. Sc. 3, and shows a thorough familiarity with Cambridge terms, and Timon talks as if he had graduated on the banks of the Cam:

> Hadst thou like us from our first swath *proceeded*
> The sweet *degrees* that this brief world affords . . .
> Thy nature did *commence* in sufference, time
> Hath made thee hard in't.

A candidate for a degree at Cambridge was required to maintain a syllogistical dispute in the schools, which disputation was called "The Act." If he was successful and admitted to the full privileges of a graduate, he was said to "*commence*" in Arts or a Faculty, and the ceremony at which he was admitted was, and is, called at Cambridge, "the Commencement." If the candidate went to higher degree he was said to "*proceed*."

There appears to be a further allusion in word-play to the Cambridge "Commencement" in Henry IV, part II, Act IV Sc. 3:—

> Learning is a mere hoard of gold kept by a devil, till sack *commences* it and sets it in *act* and use.

It is a well known fact to this day that school and university expressions continue to trip upon the tongue for the rest of one's life. "Shakespeare" was no exception and he betrayed his university experience as surely as he did his legal training. Only a university man would make King Lear complain to Regan that his other daughter did "scant" his "sizes." A "size" is an allowance to poor students at Cambridge of bread, beer, &c., and it was a punishment for such undergraduates to be "scanted of sizes."

R. L. Eagle.

SHAKESPEARE'S "IGNORANCE."

By Rennie Barker.

OF course Shakespeare of Stratford wrote the plays, says the orthodox school. We have only to look at the mistakes he made to realise this,—mistakes of place, time and customs. No educated man of the type of Francis Bacon would make these mistakes.

Why, the writer of the plays actually gives Bohemia a sea coast! Baconians have replied to this by pointing out that Bohemia had a sea coast at that time.

But what are we to say when, again and again, we find that history has been distorted, time turned topsy-turvy and customs misused? The mistakes "come not in single files but in battalions."

Few will deny, however, that "Shakespeare was a man familiar with the learning of his day, a student of philosophy and a purposive artist." So writes Lily Campbell whose masterly work "Shakespeare's Tragic Heroes" relates the study of philosophic thinking in Shakespeare's day to the playwright's tragedies especially in regard to passion.

Here, then, is an apparent contradiction—a learned man showing a lamentable ignorance of well known events and facts.

In "King Lear" the king rules over Britain in early Celtic times about 3,000 years ago. Yet some scenes are set in a Norman castle in Gloucester and characters have titles of "duke" and "earl." Kent is put in the stocks (a Norman device); Edmund is an Italianate villain; Bedlam beggars, holy water and the French disease are Elizabethan actualities. Oswald, the steward, is certainly an alien in the world of Lear. Granville Barker in his B.B.C. National lecture, aptly sums him up as "just such an upstart cad as might be seen lounging at the moment on the theatre benches when the play was acted at the 'Globe.' "

It is, indeed, a far cry from Celtic times to Shakespeare's day—a matter of about 2,600 years.

Contradictions of this kind are not, of course, confined to "King Lear." In Cæsar's Rome it is a clock that strikes the hour (striking clocks were not then invented). In "Troilus and Cressida" the Trojan, Hector, quotes Aristotle who had not yet graced Greece with his person and philosophy; and Troilus throws a glove to death as a challenge. Hats are worn in the Rome of "Coriolanus" and Claudius, King of Denmark, is guarded by Switzers, while those worthy craftsmen, Snug and Bottom, are to be found plying their craft in Athens of all places!*

There are mistakes of a similar nature in the portrayal of Court life, mistakes which at first sight one would hardly expect to be made by Francis Bacon who was familiar with it. Of this aspect I will say more later.

Wherein lies the explanation? Was the writer of the plays really as ignorant as it would appear?

The solution is not far to seek.

"Shakespeare" was writing plays, not history; making plots, or rather adapting them for dramatic purposes. He was busy showing the development of character. In all these things he had to conform to a theatrical convention which had rigid limits. It is not so much a question of stating facts as of moulding them for the stage. Shakespeare does not handle time, place and customs directly; he translates them into theatre-realities, or should we not say, into theatre-illusions.

So cleverly does he do this that at times we do not know whether we are in the world of make-belief or real-belief.

Shakespeare, then, is not concerned with accuracy: the play's the thing not only to catch the conscience of the King but to attract and hold the attention of Elizabethan or Stuart audiences.

In creating this stage illusion, Shakespeare, as is the case of all great poets, was greatly assisted by his comprehensive use of poetry, through the medium of which not only was character developed and environment created, but the emotion sustained and the illusion held.

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*See "A Companion to Shakespeare Studies," edited by H. Granville-Barker and G. B. Harrison, 1934.

In the plays we do not watch Britons or Elizabethans, but humanity; not England but the world. Paradoxical as it may seem, in the play, "King Lear," Shakespeare shows himself capable of applying a distinct historical method.

In those plays where kings, princes and nobles have their being, it is interesting to note that while the Court scenes are produced architecturally correct the dramatic exigencies demand a telescoping as it were.

Hamlet rightly has to pass through the king's chamber in order to reach his mother's closet, but no monarch of Tudor or Stuart times would be at his prayers unprotected as Claudius was. Shakespeare was accurate in the first case because he wishes Hamlet to see the King in his own chamber on his way to the Queen. He is inaccurate in the second case because he desires Hamlet to see Claudius alone. Thus are accuracy and inaccuracy joined together for dramatic purposes.

A study of the plays shows, therefore, that not only a learned man wrote them, but that he adapted and adjusted his great knowledge to his dramatic needs. Francis Bacon had just that kind of knowledge and the genius which we see reflected in the plays. Shakespeare, the man of Stratford, certainly lacked the requisite knowledge: possibly he had the genius, possibly not.

SHAKESPEARE AND BACON.

By James Gibson.

NOT so long ago had anyone dared to doubt who the poet Shakespeare was, without a doubt with Dogberry he would have been written down an ass. And had anyone then even suggested that Bacon was the man, some Stratford Sir Oracle would have pronounced him an utter ignoramus or simply an idiot. Thus in his babbling introduction to the Leopold edition of Shakespere's works first printed in 1877 with a false portrait and his name thus misspelt the founder of the New Shakspere Society, F. J. Furnival, with his absurd orthographical eccentricities picked up this bibful of bile:—"The idea of Lord Bacon's having written Shakspere's plays can be entertained only by folk who know nothing whatever of either writer or are crackt (*sic*) or who enjoy the paradox or joke. Poor Miss Delia Bacon, who started the notion(?), was no doubt then mad, as she was afterwards proved to be when shut up in an asylum. Lord Palmerston with his Irish humour naturally took to the theory, as he would have done to the suggestion that Benjamin Disraeli wrote the Gospel of St. John. I doubt whether any so idiotic suggestion as this authorship of Shakspere's works by Bacon had ever been made before or will ever be made again. The tomfoolery of it is infinite." In a P.S. subsequently added to these words the writer indulged in a cheap and flippant sneer at Dr. Thomson, of Melbourne, whose "Renascence Drama" and other writings on "History made Visible" have thrown more light from Bacon upon Shakespeare than has ever seemed to dawn on the minds of the literary pedants who, while neglecting weightier matters to be found in Bacon, have so much troubled themselves and others about rhymes and material tests, weak or feminine endings and such trifles and who have made or helped to make Stratford a sort of Mecca for pilgrims to visit by thousands from many lands.

But what do Furnival's words signify? Did he know for certain by reading her book, "The Philosophy of the Plays of Shakespere unfolded," that Miss Bacon was really mad, when she wrote it? He said, "She was no doubt then mad." How then came Carlyle and Emerson to be interested in her and in her views, and what induced Nathaniel Hawthorne to write a preface to her book? To say that she was demented before as well as after her work was published by reputable firms in America and London is to cast a cruel and cowardly aspersion upon her. But let that pass. Furnival's words as quoted show a very uncanny acquaintance with fools, sufficient to qualify one to take command of another "Ship of Fools" like Barclay's. But were contemporaries of Bacon, such as Ben Jonson, George Herbert, Withers, Thomas Randolf and John Davies, of Hereford, indeed fools for associating him so plainly with Apollo and the Muses as their prime favourite? Was the poet Shelley also a fool, when he said, "Bacon was a poet" and was Lord Macaulay demented when he declared that "the poetic faculty was powerful in Bacon," and that his was "the most exquisitely constructed intellect that has ever been bestowed on any of the children of men." Lord Palmerston as an Irishman may have been inclined to joke at times, but never about St. John, and his humour alone cannot account for him rejoicing at the explosion of "the Shakespearean illusions." On the other hand, as a Quaker, John Bright could hardly have been jesting, when he said, "Any man who believes that the Stratford man wrote "Hamlet" or "Lear" is a fool." Hallam, Lord Houghton, Coleridge, Landon, Whittier, Mark Twain, Taine, Goethe, Prince Bismarck, and a host of Baconians, English, American, German and French Scholars, were these all "crackt," simply because Furnival chose to say they were? But descending from the "infinite" height of this tomfoolery are we now to conclude that only they are wise men and know what they are talking about who pin their faith concerning the authority of Shakespeare's works to a nondescript individual about whom, as Mark Twain has observed, nothing is known that is worth recording; whose life, as far as it is known, Emer-

son could not match with his verse; who apart from the plays and poems attributed to him has left no trace of himself in any letters or books; whose father and mother signed documents with a × presumably because they couldn't write even their names; whose own signatures attached to his last will and testament were obviously written by the lawyer or lawyer's clerk who drafted the will and whose daughter Judith signed her wedding certificate with a × and could not therefore have been trained even to copy "the sweet Roman hand," which the poet Shakespeare praises so highly in "Twelfth Night" and in the "Merchant of Venice."

Assuredly, here is something very astonishing, and no wonder is it that Charles Dickens should have exclaimed, "The life of Shakespeare is a fine mystery and I tremble every day lest something should turn up!" But why should lovers of Shakespeare tremble or wait any longer like Micawber for something to turn up about this mystery? Can Stratfordians and Baconians not unite their forces and try together to get to the bottom of it? Nothing worth knowing about it but only vexation of spirit is likely to be gained by them, if they only call one another names and thereby amuse the ignorant or cause them to wonder what all the pother is about. Both the poet Shakespeare and Bacon richly deserve to be carefully studied by all who sincerely desire to know the truth about them and about the literature, politics and religion of the times during which they lived, the most momentous perhaps in the history of our Empire, when plots were rife at home and abroad to prevent the growth of its power and prestige, to poison Elizabeth, its head in England, because she was a Protestant Queen and thus to scotch the Reformation of religion and the Renaisance or Revival of Learning. And surely the Coronation year of the present head of the Empire, King George VI and his Queen, another Elizabeth, is a fitting time to bring this controversy to an end, if that be possible. So be it.

STRATFORDIAN IMPOSTURES.

IV.

ANNE HATHAWAY'S COTTAGE.

IN Rowe's biography of Shakspere published in the year 1709, we have the first mention of Anne. The biographer states that she was the daughter of one Hathaway, *said* to have been "a substantial yeoman in the neighbourhood of Stratford." Mr. Edwin Reed tells us that in a manuscript revision of this account, made nearly half-a-century later, by the Rev. Joseph Greene, master of the Stratford Grammar School, the following was interlineated: "probably of a place about a mile from thence, called Luddington, where a substantial family of that name and occupation still resides." Subsequently, Greene revised the account again, making it read a third time as follows: "probably at that place about half a mile from thence, called Shotteriche, where a creditable family of the name aforesaid till within these few years resided." He then points out the house where Anne was born, but not the one now recognized as her birthplace. Hence it appears that as late as 1770, one year after the great Garrick jubilee and two hundred and fourteen years after she was born, the maiden residence of Anne Hathaway was utterly unknown in Stratford. It was not till twenty-five years later still, in 1795, in Ireland's "Picturesque Views of the Warwickshire Avon" that the first reference to what is now called the 'Anne Hathaway's Cottage' appeared in print. No pretence existed that any tradition to that effect had come down to Ireland's time. Ireland says that he derived his information from one Mr. Harte, a chance acquaintance, who assumed to know, without the help of family records and in the absence of any local interest in the subject, who it was, in the outskirts of a small village

and in a neighbourhood where very few, if any, of the people could read or write, had occupied an ordinary thatched cottage two hundred and forty years or eight generations before.*

The official designation of these premises as the home of Shakspere's bride must therefore (to use the words of Halliwell-Phillipps) be ''one of those lamentable attempts that have been made to deceive the world in all that relates to the great dramatist.'' He says further: ''There is unhappily no tradition indicating the birthplace of Shakspere's Anne upon which the least reliance can be placed.''

Another authority, Mr. J. Skipsey's friend and confidant when the latter was custodian of the imaginary birthplace of Shakspere in Henley Street, has this to say:—

''The thousands of visitors who have been to Anne Hathaway's cottage under the impression that it is a Shakspere shrine have been, in my opinion, labouring under a delusion, and those who have chatted with Mrs. Baker under the impression that they were in touch with a representative of Shakspere's wife's family have probably been labouring under another delusion greater still. All the nonsense about 'Anne Hathaway's bedroom,' 'Anne Hathaway's window,' from which she looked to see William coming across the fields, 'Anne Hathaway's corner in the main room,' where she and Shakspere sat in their courting days, must be dismissed as the idlest of suppositions. There is not an iota of proof that Shakspere ever entered the house. It is open to doubt that his wife was ever there.''

SHAKSPERE'S COAT OF ARMS.

The attempt of Shakspere to procure a coat of arms for his father was caricatured in Jonson's *Every Man Out of His Humor*, and a few facts in connection with the fraud may be welcome. As Ignatius Donnelly wrote many years

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* How credulous Ireland was, appears from the fact that, having had an old farm-house pointed out to him by a notorious forger, Jordan, as the scene of Shakspere's imprisonment after the alleged deer-stealing escapade, he inserted an engraving of it in his book. He was the father of the young Ireland who was a still more noted forger.

ago: "In my lecture before the Bacon Society I stated that William Shakspere was not the kind of man to deserve the idolatrous worship of the intelligent people of England; and to prove this I referred, among other facts, to his attempt to obtain for his father a coat of arms by fraudulent representations that his father was of gentle blood; while, in fact, he was descended of a long line of peasants; and furthermore, that although no coat of arms was ever given to John Shakspere, his descendants proceeded to use one."

In a letter to the *Standard*, Mr. E. A. Ebblewhite traversed these statements, in which he asserted that a grant of coat armour had really been made to John Shakspere. Donnelly replied by quoting an extract from J. O. Halliwell Phillipps' *Outlines*, which fully sustained his position. Mr. Ebblewhite rejoined by denying the correctness of Mr. Halliwell Phillipps' conclusions and intimating that his own views were founded on later and more complete researches. Donnelly next wrote to Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps, sending him a copy of the correspondence, and asked if any later researches had led him to change his views as to the conclusions stated in his book upon the points in controversy, and the following is a true copy of Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps' reply:

> "Dear Sir,—In reply to your first inquiry, there can, I presume, be no doubt that Garter and Clarencieux made a grant of coat of armour to Shakespeare's father in the year 1599 but the real question is whether the grant was ratified by their College. Its validity was certainly impugned by 'the rest of the heralds' in March, 1602, as appears from an explicit statement to that effect in MS Ashmole 846, now in the Bodleian Library, and the result of the dispute is nowhere recorded.
>
> In reply to your second inquiry I have seen no reason whatever for altering, but, on the contrary, much to confirm, the opinion that Shakespeare's parents "were really descended from obscure country yeomen,"

As Dr. H. P. Dean wrote in BACONIANA, Dec. 1926, "The Shaksperes tried hard to get a coat of arms in 1596 and 1599: they endeavoured to impale their assumed arms with those of the influential Warwickshire Ardens and failed; then they resorted to the Cheshire Ardens and again failed.

The definite fact emerges that, although two or three drafts were drawn up, no actual grant of a coat-of-arms was

ever issued to the Shaksperes: at any rate, there is no record of such a grant. And, as Dr. Dean remarks, it is quite likely that the zealous Ralph Brooke, York Herald, prevented the arms being officially granted. In fact, this official "attacked Dethick and Camden for sanctioning the use by a man in a base rank of a bearing which only the spear differenced from the shield of ancient magnates, the Lords Manley." (*Barron.*)

That Francis Bacon was behind this may be inferred from his very intimate friend Camden being associated with the enterprise, and it may well be that William Shakspere made a coat-of-arms, as well as the gift of New Place, a condition for his silence as to the authorship of the plays. We know that Bacon's aunt, Lady Ann Russell, was the former owner of New Place; that it was reserved for W.S. as early as 1597-8; and that he was discreetly out-of-the-way until 1603, when Queen Elizabeth (who had earlier threatened to put the author of *Richard II* to the rack) had gone the way of all flesh. Then W.S. took possession.

H.S.

A GIFT OF BOOKS.

We have to acknowledge, with many thanks, the gift to our Library by Miss Mapother of a fine edition of Pope's *Miscellanies* (1717). Also another valuable gift of books from Mr. W. Parker Brewis, namely, *Memoirs of Elizabeth, Her Court and Favorites*, by Sir Robert Naunton, *A Treatise on the Art of Decyphering and of writing Cypher* (1772), by Philip Thicknesse, *The Prince, or Maxims of State*, by Sir Walter Rawley, and presented to Prince Henry (1642), *A Vindication of the Lord Chancellor Bacon*, from *the Aspersion of Injustice, cast upon him by Mr. Wraynham*, &c. (1725), *A Collection of the Proceedings in the House of Commons against the Lord Verulam, Viscount St. Alban's, Lord Chancellor of England, for Corruption and Bribery*, &c., John Marston's *Tragedies and Comedies*, London, 1633, *Verulamiana; or Opinions on Men, Manners, Literature, Politics and Theology*, By Francis Bacon (1803) a Latin edition, published at Amsterdam (1662), of Bacon's *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, a Latin edition of the *Sermones Fideles*, by Bacon (1644 edn.), a Latin edition of Bacon's *Scripta in Naturali et Universali Philosophia* published at Amsterdam, and *Die grösste Mystifikation in der Weltliteratur*, in German, by Felix Bruns (1926).

SHAKESPEARE—THE WHY AND WHEREFORE OF HIS PLAYS.

DRUMMING in our ears, we hear the naughty words, "We have the Plays, what more do you want?" and the futile other word "A splendid week at Stratford-on-Avon. Please don't spoil the illusion." "What else do you want?" On the tip of our tongue is our answer. "Are you sure you have the Plays? I am not so sure. As to not wanting more, can we ever have enough?" Shake-spear, in the width and depth and breadth and height of the characters on his page, and his platform aims at what lies behind them and beyond.

Francis Bacon, in part of the introductory passage gives us an explanation of what he intends the 4th Part of his *Instauratio Magna* to be; it was comprised to types and models of living representation, to be seen, not with the mind only, but with the eyes, for the purpose of discovering and presenting truth. Bacon presents us with specimens of these types, "wrath, shame . . . love." This 4th Part is apparently lost, but is plainly represented by the Plays.

Until we find the kernel in this our nut, the plays, recognise it, make it ours, handle it, draw it from its shell, we most certainly have *not* got the Plays.

Look back and see, for Shake-spear must be read in the study as well as seen upon the stage. Also hearken carefully to every word spoken by the actors there. In the Play of *Hamlet* the questionable ghost makes its message clear—revenge. Hamlet, out of a too authoritative past, says, "Speak, I am bound to hear" "So art thou to revenge, when thou shalt hear," says the commanding, assertive ghost, while Hamlet says "Prompted to very revenge by Heaven and Hell" and the Players add "The croacking raven doth bellow for revenge."

Hamlet is the pupil, the student, the scholar of a new and quite different school of thought from that of pagan Denmark. He and his alter ego, Horatio, are freshly

come from Wittenberg, the Christian college of new thought practically 2000 years old. Hamlet could *not* disobey the Divine commands "Thou shalt not kill, but love thine enemy," for the sake of any ghostly command. Bacon says, "Certainly in taking revenge, a man is but even with his enemy, but in passing it over, he is superior; for it is a prince's part to pardon."* "The powerful genius of this wonderful man," "the greatest man of that age," "of deep sagacity and extensive observation," as Henry Hallam has it, was essentially Christian. Hallam says, "Bacon's great work was the restoring and improving of human nature." "Had he not been Chancellor. . . he might have been the High Priest of Nature."

Do you call his Hamlet "weak, vacillating, and irresolute?" Nothing of the kind. He was bravery itself.

Abraham Cowley seems to make Francis Bacon distinctly the author of Hamlet by this. "Bacon . . . a mighty man, arose" and conquered authority. "Authority, which did a body boast, Though t'was but air condensed, and stalked about, Like some old giant's more gigantic ghost, He chased out of our sight. To graves from whence it rose, The conquered phantom fled."† A clear enough explanation why Hamlet condemns the entombed ghost, jocularly as "Boy, old mole," "Man without goodness," says Bacon, "is a busy, mischievous wretched thing, no better than a kind of vermin," which of course a mole is. The learned philosopher who wrote Hamlet is Bacon. Authority was the chimera Bacon fought and conquered; no doubt about that.

Leaving the play of Hamlet and the Cause or causes to which it owed its authorship, see before us on the platform or open page another type or model of the errors or infirmities of time. A gaunt and aged Eastern with malignant eyes, in greasy gaberdine, bends on his stick, bleeding slowly, surely, his victims to death. Mark the word that falls from his cruel lips. The ominous, the mystic, the fatal word, we would sweep from every nation today. The word, the thing, the cause, and reason for which the

* Bacon Essay of *Revenge*.

† Cowley: Dedicatory Ode, Hist. of Royal Society. Bishop Sprat.

Merchant of Venice was conceived. "I'll hate him for he is a Christian." "I'll go in hate." "I can give no reason more than a lodged hate." "Hates any man the thing he would not kill?" Our author would have us realise that the mortal sin of hate, lying beneath and within the absorbing interest of the play of *The Merchant* is the cause and reason of it.

Turn the page, ring up the curtain on the plays of *Pericles* and *Antony and Cleopatra*. It is not alone the *characters* appearing before us in Antioch and ancient Egypt that our Shake-spear holds all-important. What matters to him is the insanity infecting the whole of human nature, plumbed by him to its depths. This must be cleansed by him, the good physician and medicine-man, "the Priest of All Souls, the Master of All Arts," as George Herbert, public Orator of Cambridge and saintly vicar of Bemerton calls him.

Antiochus and *Antony and Cleopatra* presents the greed of the world for self-love. Gower strikes a most important note in his First Chorus of the Play of *Pericles*. "What now ensues, to the judgment of your eye I give, My *cause* who best can justify." The kernel of the nut we have to crack is here discovered. The why and wherefore of the Plays is their causes—is their reasons. For instance, pure-minded Pericles unveils for us not merely his own goodness and another's guilt, but how "Murder's as near to lust as flame to smoke."* Francis Bacon, in the exemplar of his projected plan or method of models and types of human nature mentions as examples certain virtues and errors common to it. Shame is one of these examples, so in the play of Percicles we get shame on its bad side in the person of vicious, murderous Antiochus. "For by his fall, my honour must keep high."†

Again in the play of *Antony and Cleopatra*, death and self-slaughter is the fatal end of two poor helpless self-lovers. Antony, once "the greatest prince of the world, the noblest," now dishonoured, dishonourable traitor Antony, "makes his will lord of his reason," as the author

* *Pericles*, Act 8, Sc. 1.
† *Ibid.*

has it. So also his tawny-fronted gipsy siren, Cleopatra, crocodile of Egypt, serpent of old Nile, has Antony in her strong toils and swoons to death in self-murder. "Murders" as near to lust as flame to smoke."

Beware of the noxious weed, jealousy, teaches our mighty medicine man. Give it no quarter or it will overrun our garden and choke its balm of Gilead and every other herb of grace. What stronger example has our dramatist for us, of this world's green-eyed monster, than sweet Desdemona and the savagery of Othello. The Moor, Cain, Leontes, Judas, make their victim the gentle and meek, and kill the thing they thought to love.

"As to the stage," says Francis Bacon, "love is ever a matter of comedies and now and then of tragedies; but in life it doth much mischief, sometimes like a siren, sometimes like a fury."* Here speaks the dramatist and good physician well versed in the infirmities of the flesh, ready with his cure. He, like Plato, knows that if we could only see good in its perfection we would long to make it ours, and so he presents us with the loveliest of his Plays *Romeo and Juliet*.

The first edition of the Italian translation of that Play has an interesting Foreword, wherein the editor discourses most warmly on the necessity of the writer having visited Italy in the springtime of his youth, and in "Noble ectasy writing of its lovely skies and perfumed airs" while the innocence of Romeo's lovemaking—purity itself,—also makes a strong impression on this Italian editor.

There is another character in our Shakespeare's Repertory, that we would find it hard to do without, the Jester, the laughter-provoking lover,—mark the word, lover—Falstaff. Falstaff loves his fellowman, therefore he is beloved all the world over. Not citizen only of Eastcheap, or frequenter only of the Boar's Head Tavern; he is the lovable inmate of the world itself, his touch of nature makes the whole world kin.

The Why and the Wherefore of our great Shake-Spear have for answer clear enough, Logic and Rhetoric, Cause

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* Bacon's Essay on *Love*.

and Reason, the prime movers, as we have seen, of his Immortal Plays.

It is only Francis Bacon, our Apollo*, the good Physician, the man of transcendent genius and the greatest man of his age as Henry Hallam calls him: the man of depth and originality, greater than Cicero and Marcus Aurelius: the man who, like them, spent his hours of leisure—snatched from hours of trenchant labour,—in favourite Arts and Sciences.

It is only he who could, and did, write the Immortal Plays.

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S BABIES.

(*Communicated.*)

As far back as 1868, Messrs. Chapman and Hall published a "Life of Sir Walter Raleigh," by James Augutus St. John, which appears to show that the idea of Elizabeth being a "virgin queen" is another of the fairy-tales with which the orthodox historians have sought to foist upon a gull ble public. On page 45, the author says,—"At the period of which we are speaking he (de Vere, Earl of Oxford) possessed two mysterious books, one called 'The Book of Babies,' the other 'The Book of Prophesies.' In the former the author had probably collected all the rumours that circulated throughout the realm, of Elizabeth's offspring by Leicester. The general belief appears to have been that when the Queen found herself *enceinte* she left London and went on a Progress into the country, when, secretly, in some remote castle she gave birth to her child, which was spirited away and brought up carefully under the eyes of Leicester's friends. What credit was to be given to such stories, de Vere, in all likelihood never considered, but in proportion to his hopes of success with the Queen and fears of failure,—withheld or exhibited the 'Book of Babies', merely to have seen which was looked upon as akin to treason."

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* Manes Verulamiani Elegies on Bacon.

BOOK NOTICE.

DIE STELLUNG DER ACADEMIA NATURAE CURIOSORUM IN DER GEISTESGESCHICHTE DES 17 JAHRHUNDERTS. By Dr. Helmut Minkowski of Berlin. Halle, 1937.

Dr. Minkowski continues his studies in different aspects of the Renaissance period; but in this Journal we can only refer to that which concerns Francis Bacon. He notes how Bacon belonged in a sense both to the old religious and scholastic world, and yet was a pioneer of the new movement to free natural science from outworn superstitions and antiquated methods; that he recognised how impossible it was for any one man to achieve the needful revolution of thought and method, and that the combined efforts of many like-minded thinkers would be required before substantial progress could be made. Further, that we have not yet realised how closely Bacon was associated not only with the foundation of the Royal Society in England but also with the establishment of the majority of similar institutions in Europe. We might perhaps differ somewhat from the writer's statement that the aims of the Rosicrucian Society were of a wholly different character from those of such societies, though of course it is true that their methods were not the same. Dr. Minkowski points out how Bacon has sometimes been regarded as only a second-rate reformer, because his own method remained scholastic; but he rightly comments that the true significance of Bacon's ideals and their practicability can only be grasped by a study of that remarkable work *The New Atlantis*; also, that the inner movements of Rosicrucianism and Freemasonry owed their form to this same work.

B.G.T.

CORRESPONDENCE.

FRANCIS BACON'S DEATH.

TO THE EDITORS OF BACONIANA.

Sirs,—May I add a bit to that ever fascinating mystery concerning the death and burial of Francis Bacon, brought to mind by the article of the late Parker Woodward in the last issue of BACONIANA?

In the 1605 edition of "Familiar Letters" by James Howell, is one addressed to "Dr. Prichard" (page 8, sec. 4) in which we read, "My lord Chancelor Bacon is lately dead of a long languishing weakness; he died so poor, that he scarce left money to bury him, which tho he had a great Wit did argue no great Wisdom, it being one of the essential properties of a wise man to provide for the "*main chance*." (Quotation marks and italics mine.)

The entire letter is of interest, especially the following anecdote. "Once when the King had sent him (Bacon) a Stag, he sent up for the Underkeeper, and having drunk the King's health unto him in a great 'Silver-Guilt-Bowl,' he gave it him for his fee." Strangely reminiscent of the "Broade Silver Guilt Boll" Wm. Shaxper left to his daughter Judith!

None of the Letters in this edition (1605) is dated, but in the 1655 edition, in which this letter is repeated, we find it dated

"Jan. 6, 1645." The expression "lately dead" would seem to imply within, at most, a few months, which would carry the year back to 1640.

I should be glad of any comments from your readers.

Yours truly,

KATE H. PRESCOTT.

TO THE EDITORS OF BACONIANA.

Dear Sirs,—In our Society's unique journal, there appear, frequently, statements and questions referring to Rosicrucianism and Freemasonry, and Francis Bacon's *membership* therewith; but there is no direct evidence of his initiation into either of the above Secret Societies, although his writings certainly contain erudite matters showing that he knew something of the Arcana of their Mysteries, as anciently described.

I have taken trouble to search for *facts* to satisfy these interesting problems and I hope that my *notes* as fugitive pieces will be acceptable by your subscribers.

Throughout the immense range of literature bearing on Francis Bacon's Rosicrucian, or Masonic Brotherhood, there are *guesses* and *allusions*, ad infinitum, and it is advisable for your contributors, always, to give the authors and pages to support their statements.

Personal enquiries to my masonic friends, who are past-masters of the history of Freemasonry and knowledge of Ancient Landmarks elicit the substantial replies that the Craft have no knowledge that Francis Bacon was a Mason, and that masonic tradition is silent concerning him as the introducer and founder of any Lodge.

In the "Shakespeare Myth" by Walter Ellis, page 5, I read that Bacon's own Lodge was named "The Philadelphians"; but, Freke Gould's "History of Freemasonry," vol. III p. 142, states that the Philadelphians Lodge was founded, 1780, at Narbonne, about 154 years after Bacon's decease. Moreover throughout Gould's reliable "History" there is nothing to show that Bacon had any connection with Freemasonry, at any time.

I now come to "English Freemasonry in its Period of Transition, 1600-1700," in the July, 1937 issue of BACONIANA, as a review by R. L. Eagle, who enquires whether any Baconian has come across a copy of Michael Maier's "Themis Aurea," a book not available except to the Brethren; and all copies may have been destroyed: page 311. There are copies available now, in both the Bodleian and British Museum Libraries, of Michael Maier's "Themis Aurea," Frankfort, 1618; and a translation of it, 1656, dedicated to Elias Ashmole.

Maier, a physician, denied that R.C. meant either ros, rosa, or crux, cross. He was devoted to the "Cabala," possessed the secret of the Philosopher's Stone and had the *Elixir of Life*; but, he died at Magdeburg, 1622! Akin to *Alchemy*; putting gold into a pot to make poverty!!

Permit me to make this letter an opportunity to thank C. L'Estrange Ewen for his information in BACONIANA, July issue, respecting Francis Bacon's birthplace at Redgrave Hall, Suffolk, because time and thought are freely given by your correspondents.

Yours truly,

W. A. VAUGHAN.

NOTES AND NOTICES.

Erratum.—On page 358, line 9 of the last issue, read *Composita* for *Compositur*, a fault which escaped notice in the printing.

The Bacon Society's Annual Birthday Commemoration will take place at the Langham Hotel, Portland Place, W, on Tuesday, January 25th at 7 for 7-30 p.m. Owing to the rising prices of commodities, the price of tickets (inclusive of gratuities to waiters) will be 8/6 each. We trust that members and friends in town will turn up in good numbers as usual. Apply to the Hon. Sec., 544, Caledonian Road, N.7, with remittances, as early as possible.

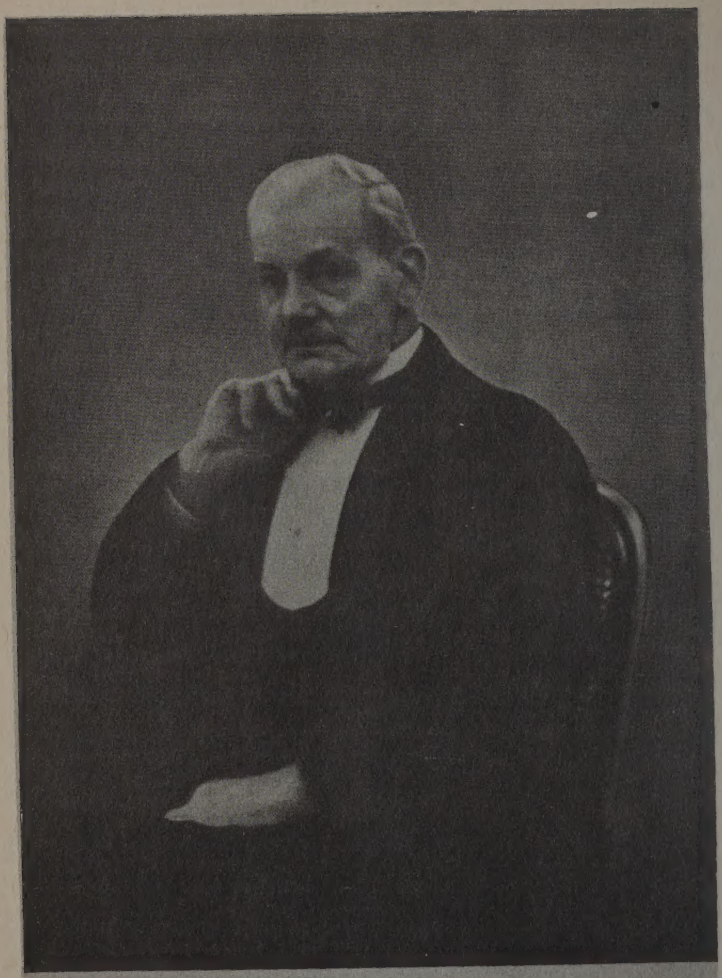
The sad death of the late Dean of Westminster has arrested, for a time, our efforts to induce the proper authorities to give consent for the opening of Spenser's tomb in Westminster Abbey, as referred to in our last number.

On Thursday, Dec. 2nd last, the President lectured on Gilbert Slater's book, "The Seven Shakespeares," which discussed the possible parts played by Bacon, Marlowe, Manners, De Vere, Raleigh, Stanley, and the Countess of Pembroke, in writing the plays of "Shakespeare." Mr. Bridgewater strongly held that the "group theory" of authorship was utterly silly, and said it was easy to see that Gilbert Slater had been "inspired" by the Oxfordian protagonists. Mr. Seymour said there was one or more "possible" authors of which Mr. Slater had probably not heard. One was the theory of the Rev. Surtees that Sir Anthony Sherley was the one and only author of the plays, and the others were a group of Jesuits in England, cited by Harold Johnson in an interpleader petition during the trial of Selig *versus* Fabyan in the Circuit Court of Cook County, Illinois, U.S.A. There are red herrings in plenty.

The lecture in Prince Henry's Room on Jan. 6th, will be given by Mrs. Mabel Sennett on Sir Dunbar Plunket Barton's book, "Links between Ireland and Shakespeare." The President will also give a lecture at the Kingsway Hall (John O'London's Circle) on Feb. 26th with the title, "Shakespere the Mask: Bacon the Man."

On account of the pressure on space in the present number it will not be possible to deal with Mr. W. A. Vaughan's question in "Correspondence," whether there is any "direct evidence" that Francis Bacon was connected with Rosicrucianism and Freemasonry. It is not surprising that he has failed to get any information from ordinary Masonic Sources. They are not out to give their secrets away. But Sir Caspar Purdon Clarke long ago positively confirmed that "Francis Bacon (so-called) founded Modern Speculative Masonry."

H.S.



HENRY SEYMOUR.